



*President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM  
(United Republic of Tanzania).*

**AGENDA ITEM 3**

**Credentials of representatives to the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly (concluded):\***  
**(b) Report of the Credentials Committee (A/ES-6/5)**

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 17 of its report contained in document A/ES-6/5. The Credentials Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to do so?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution ES-6/1).*

**AGENDA ITEM 5**

**Question considered by the Security Council at its 2185th to 2190th meetings, from 5 to 9 January 1980 (continued) (A/ES-6/L.1 and Add.1)**

2. Mr. ZAITON (Malaysia): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you once again presiding over our deliberations. We have no doubt that this sixth emergency special session will be conducted in the very orderly and efficient manner that we had the pleasure of observing during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, over which you also presided.

3. We are gathered here at this emergency special session to consider the grave situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security. The views of my delegation on this subject were already made clear in its statement to the Security Council on 6 January 1980.<sup>1</sup> It is regrettable that despite the gravity of the situation the Council found itself unable to act as a result of the exercise by a permanent member of its power of veto. Our participation in the Council's debate and, indeed, our participation here in this Assembly today amply demonstrate the seriousness with which my delegation views what is now happening in Afghanistan.

4. The facts surrounding the events in that country are now clear to States Members of this Organization. The Soviet Union's action in sending thousands of troops into

Afghanistan backed by tanks and aeroplanes, and its direct involvement in the ousting of the legal Government of that country, which it has replaced with one to its liking, are beyond any doubt a clear intervention in the internal affairs of that country. It constitutes, in the view of my Government, a blatant violation of the principle of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States—the very principle which is enshrined in our Charter and which we are all in duty bound to uphold and respect. As inhabitants of a non-aligned Islamic country, we are all the more saddened by what is happening in Afghanistan, a fellow non-aligned and brother Moslem country.

5. In participating in this meeting and expressing strong objections to the Soviet action, my delegation does not intend to provoke a return to the cold-war days of distrust and rivalry. We are not speaking here in the context of the rivalry between the super-Powers; we are here to speak for what we strongly and firmly believe in, which is that it is only through the strict adherence to, and respect for, the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations that the international community can live in peace and harmony. Any action violating them would not only threaten the fabric of harmonious relations but also pose a serious danger to the peace and stability of nations, particularly small and developing countries.

6. It is the policy of my country to have the best of relations with all countries of the world irrespective of differences in economic and political systems. Our relations with the Soviet Union are cordial, and it is our wish to strengthen them further. The visit of my Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein Onn, to the Soviet Union in September last year is ample testimony of our desire to strengthen those relations. My Prime Minister had useful exchanges of views with the leaders of the Soviet Union and received encouraging assurances of the Soviet Union's respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. Its action in Afghanistan has therefore come as a shock and a disappointment to the people and the Government of Malaysia, and we feel it incumbent upon us, notwithstanding our desire for closer relations with the Soviet Union, to speak out against it. There is no doubt at all in our minds that the majority of the Afghan people oppose the Soviet intervention and armed involvement in their country. Otherwise, how can one explain the need for the Soviet Union to pour more and more troops with their formidable equipment into Afghanistan, or the reports of the Afghan people valiantly and bravely fighting those troops even with their bare hands? The Soviet Union's action has already shown itself to be a setback to the continuing process of détente between the Soviet Union and the United States, and there is doubt that the SALT II

\* Resumed from the 1st meeting.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, 2187th meeting.*

treaty will be ratified by the latter. Thus international peace and security is threatened.

7. My delegation is therefore speaking at this emergency special session today to join its voice to those calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. Let the Afghan people decide their own future and destiny by themselves free from outside intervention and interference—and that should apply not only to intervention by the Soviet Union but by all other countries, big or small, super-Power or not.

8. My delegation is sad to note that thousands of persons from Afghanistan have crossed into neighbouring countries to seek shelter and escape from the turmoil in their country. As a country which has faced, and is still continuing to face, the problem of the influx of refugees, Malaysia fully understands the burden and the strain felt by those in similar circumstances. My delegation therefore strongly appeals to the international community to come to the relief of these thousands of Afghan refugees. At the same time, it is equally necessary for the parties concerned to co-operate in bringing about the necessary conditions to enable the refugees to return to their homes.

9. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that the draft resolution contained in document A/ES-6/L.1, which is now before this Assembly and of which Malaysia is a sponsor, will receive the strong support it richly deserves.

10. Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Our delegation, together with that of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and many others, from the very beginning has opposed the discussion in a session of the United Nations General Assembly of the question of Afghanistan, a question that has been artificially created by certain interested circles. The convening of the present emergency special session of the General Assembly is, as has already been said in a number of statements, nothing but one more element in the campaign of slander conducted by imperialist and hegemonistic circles—a campaign the purpose of which is to undermine the gains of the April 1978 revolution carried out by the Afghan people and also the friendly relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, to create an atmosphere of military psychosis and, under this unseemly camouflage, to justify and whip up the arms race and attempt to drag back international relations to the times of the cold war. These attempts are also designed to exploit the United Nations as cover for further subversive activities against the lawful Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Although all these unsavoury objectives of the reactionary forces were clearly exposed in the course of the discussion that took place in the Security Council, those who initiated the raising of the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan are continuing their manoeuvres and intrigues in a vain attempt to mislead world public opinion about the true state of affairs in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

*Mr. Oyono (United Republic of Cameroon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

11. That country is one of the most ancient countries of Central Asia and, as is well known, until very recently was

one of the most backward. Its proud people, not without assistance from the imperialist monopolies, was doomed to eke out a wretched existence. The feudal lords were the judges and executioners of their own people. They established a benighted rule over them and kept millions of people in the chains of serfdom. The country was a prey to arbitrariness and lawlessness. In the struggle with the rotten régime of that time, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan the workers of the country in April 1978 took charge of their own fate. In the most difficult conditions, they began the building of a new life, which has been described in detail here by the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Mr. Dost.

12. The Soviet Union, which for 62 years had maintained good-neighbourly relations with Afghanistan based on mutual respect, equality and co-operation, had provided and continued to provide all kinds of economic, scientific, technological and other assistance to the Afghan people.

13. The successes of the Afghan workers, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—every step farther along the road towards the building of a new life and the liberation of the country from the yoke of oppression—aroused the fury of the foes of Democratic Afghanistan who, from the very beginning, made no attempt to conceal their intention to do everything possible to move the country from the path chosen by the Afghan people themselves.

14. The internal counter-revolutionary forces, which had lost their power and privileges, joined the outside imperialist and reactionary forces in hoping that the April revolution would not be strong enough to cope with the blows which would be dealt it. Many facts have been adduced that testify to the foreign intervention in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. I should like to mention a few more.

15. In January 1979, a conference of Afghan reactionary leaders was held on the territory of Pakistan. The decision was taken to organize a so-called struggle committee. Dates were set for armed actions. Questions of interdependent action were considered with representatives of so-called friendly States, which supplied the conspirators with arms, money and subversive *matériel*. As long ago as April last year, there were 12 camps in operation on the territory of Pakistan in which, under the leadership of American, Chinese and Egyptian instructors, squads for armed action were formed and trained and preparations were made for large-scale armed incursions into Afghanistan. Later the number of such camps considerably increased.

16. At the end of November last year, a meeting was organized of the leaders of the armed squads and the Afghanistan emigré bourgeoisie. It was held in Munich, where the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has one of its headquarters and a subversive radio station. The place where that conspiratorial meeting was held made it abundantly clear who was master-minding the intervention in Afghanistan. The United States CIA established active contacts with the reactionary Afghan organization, the Moslem Brothers. Armed detachments maintained by the CIA began to co-operate with groups of Maoist agents

known as “*sholeya djavid*” and “*sorha*”. Many members of those groups underwent special training in China and, with the co-operation of the Chinese authorities, were sent to the territory of Afghanistan in order to carry out acts of subversion and terror.

17. China, ending its support from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan within the framework of earlier agreed programmes of bilateral co-operation, began instead to provide direct assistance to the anti-governmental forces in Afghanistan. At this very moment Chinese advisers are training armed squads sent into Afghanistan from abroad.

18. The threat to sovereignty and territorial integrity hanging over the country compelled the Afghan Government to appeal to the Soviet Union for help on the basis of the relevant provisions of the 1978 Afghan-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation and the inalienable right of States to individual or collective self-defence, as enshrined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. The decision of the Soviet Union, in response to the repeated appeals of the Afghan Government to send a limited military contingent to Afghanistan to repel the armed intervention from outside, is entirely in keeping with the provisions of the 1978 Treaty, which I have just mentioned, and the Charter of the United Nations.

19. Speaking at a press conference for Afghan and foreign journalists in Kabul on 10 January this year, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, stated, among other things:

“After the April revolution when Afghanistan became the target of increasing counter-revolutionary assaults from outside inspired by the United States and China, the leadership of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan made repeated appeals to the Soviet Government for help. The Soviet Union refrained from taking such a step until, as a result of aggressive actions, a direct threat was created to the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country. It was only then that the Soviet Union took the decision to send to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the request of our Government, a limited contingent of Soviet troops to defend Afghanistan from external aggression. This contingent will be withdrawn from the territory of our country as soon as the United States, acting in league with Peking and reactionary circles in Pakistan and Egypt, puts an end to its aggressive policy towards the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.”

20. Attempts to exploit the presence of a limited Soviet military contingent on the territory of Afghanistan in order to indulge in unfounded allegations about the creation of a threat to the security of other States are designed to justify in some way the continuing subversive actions being undertaken against Afghanistan by a number of means, including the provision of assistance to internal and external counter-revolutionary forces. As has been repeatedly confirmed, Soviet support and assistance to Afghanistan are not aimed against any of its neighbours, countries

which are also neighbours of the Soviet Union. Attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union any other intentions, and especially, intentions of intervention in questions of Afghanistan's internal and external policies, are totally without foundation. These false assertions were entirely exposed in the course of the discussions in the Security Council as well as in the statements made by many delegations from this rostrum.

21. In his statements in the Security Council, the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan described the major democratic reforms which are taking place at the present time and which are being conducted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the interests of the broad masses of the population. The implementation by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of the programme of democratic reforms which it has proclaimed will undoubtedly lead to the stabilization of the situation in the country and to ensuring the vital interests of the broad masses of the Afghan people. In the circumstances, in our view, it is the task of the United Nations to promote the creation of peaceful conditions propitious to the implementation of the progressive policy indicated by the new Government of Afghanistan, and not to create obstacles to it.

22. Questions of the internal policies of Afghanistan fall within the competence of its Government, and relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are their bilateral business. Attempts to exploit the United Nations for intervention in the internal affairs of one of its Member States, on whatever trumped-up pretext, are nothing but a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations—in particular, as has already been pointed out, Article 2, paragraph 7. Therefore, the Government of Afghanistan was quite right in describing these actions as a direct and clear interference in its internal affairs.

23. The Afghan people alone, and no one else, has the right to determine the course of its internal development and the question of how to establish its relations with other States. The raising in the United Nations of the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan is wrong, and contradicts the clearly expressed will of the people and Government of the sovereign State of Afghanistan.

24. Hence the question naturally arises: who found it necessary, and for what reason, to mount this noisy campaign around the so-called question of the situation in Afghanistan? There is no doubt that certain circles in the West and their new friends have, for the umpteenth time, been attempting to find an apparently convincing pretext to justify their designs to drag the world back to the times of the cold war and to revive the arms race.

25. It is precisely within this context that we should consider the recently adopted decision for the deployment in Western Europe of new American nuclear missiles and the stepping up of military preparations in various parts of the world, and the feverish search for possibilities of creating new military bases in that region. This is all necessary for those who have repeatedly demonstrated to the whole world their frenzied addiction to the policy of expansionism and great-Power hegemonism—those who for decades have been calling upon everyone to dig themselves

into trenches in a hurry and prepare for a new world war. On their conscience is the blood of millions of innocent Kampuchean tortured, crippled and killed by brutal and atrocious methods like those used by Hitler's butchers against the Soviet people in the course of the Great Patriotic War—and this includes the atrocities carried out on the territory of the temporarily occupied Byelorussian Republic.

26. Thus we are witnessing a conspiracy carried out by the most reactionary forces of the world that do not find to their liking the policy of international détente and that wish to hinder the normal development of international relations and the process of peaceful international co-operation.

27. One can only be astounded at the hypocrisy with which the representatives of certain Western countries, former colonial empires, are now speaking from this rostrum. It is precisely they who, for centuries, piratically plundered the peoples of their numerous colonies, suppressing with fire and sword all attempts on the part of the colonial and dependent peoples to rise up against exploitation and oppression and to fight for their national and social liberation. They sowed division and enmity among peoples; they waged piratical, plundering wars for the expansion of their colonial empires. And they are continuing to plunder the wealth of the developing countries and are hindering the establishment of the new international economic order.

28. It is precisely their armed forces and military bases which are on the territories of dozens of countries, in spite of the interests of the peoples of those countries. It is precisely these forces which are co-ordinating campaigns against the peoples of Afghanistan, Viet-Nam, Laos, Kampuchea, Palestine, Angola, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other countries. We say in our country: You find out who your friends are when you are in trouble, but the wolf in sheep's clothing remains a wolf for all that.

29. We are convinced that the peoples of the developing countries—and this includes the peoples of Islamic States—will not allow themselves to be misled by the stage-managed noisy campaign about the "situation in Afghanistan" and will correctly understand the position on this question of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which are their natural allies and which have repeatedly demonstrated their loyalty to this alliance, both in words and in deed. We call on those developing countries which have become dragged into the current propaganda campaign around the so-called question of Afghanistan to give serious thought to who derives advantage from their objections to the legitimate provision of assistance to the Government of one of such countries.

30. We should like to declare at this time our total solidarity with the struggle of the Afghan people for the sovereignty and independence of their country and for the building of a new life. We shall therefore resolutely oppose any attempts the goal of which is to intervene in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to hinder that process.

31. The Byelorussian SSR, together with all the countries of the socialist community, firmly believes that the decisions of the United Nations should promote consolida-

tion in international relations of the course of international co-operation and the easing of international tension.

32. In our time, there is no more burning issue than the question whether mankind will tread the path of deepening détente, of strengthening mutual international trust and co-operation, or whether once again will begin an escalation of suspicion and fear and its concomitant, the arms race.

33. Mr. THIOUNN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): First, I should like the President to know how pleased my delegation is to see him conducting the important work of this sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly during these grave hours in which international peace and security are threatened. His wisdom and outstanding skill will ensure that our work is as successful as the international community expects it to be.

34. In barely 12 months, the Security Council, the supreme body of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been prevented three times from playing its role by the misuse of the right of veto by one of its permanent members.

35. On 15 January 1979, the Soviet Union vetoed a draft resolution submitted by all the non-aligned members of the Security Council<sup>2</sup> condemning the Vietnamese armed intervention against Kampuchea and calling for the cessation of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea and the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from that country.

36. On 16 March 1979, the Soviet Union vetoed a draft resolution submitted by the five countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)<sup>3</sup> condemning the recourse to the threat or the use of force against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any State and calling upon Viet Nam to cease its war of aggression against Kampuchea and to withdraw all its armed forces from that country.

37. On 7 January 1980, the Soviet Union cast a third veto—this time on the draft resolution in document S/13729, submitted by the non-aligned and third-world countries members of the Security Council,<sup>4</sup> condemning the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan and calling for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

38. In those three cases the draft resolutions were supported by the 13 other members of the Security Council, particularly by those belonging to the Non-Aligned Movement and the third world.

39. Those three successive vetoes, which were used to defend aggression perpetrated against two founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement and to endorse flagrant violations of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment exposed the so-called natural

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13162.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1980*.

ally of the non-aligned and third-world countries and held it up to public obloquy as the true grave-digger of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of small and medium-sized countries and as the main enemy of international peace and security.

40. During the debates in the Security Council and from this rostrum of our General Assembly, numerous speakers have denounced the perfidious manoeuvres of the Soviet expansionists, who, while using pompous and grandiloquent rhetoric on non-recourse to the use of force in international relations, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations—and I could go on—are in fact abetting and participating in the destabilization of third-world countries and the aggression against and invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese regional expansionists, and are themselves embarked on an act of armed intervention against Afghanistan.

41. My delegation is pleased to note this just and rational recognition of the true nature of world and regional hegemonists and expansionists, which will make it easier to discern the true threat to international peace and security and to adopt the appropriate measures to deal with it.

42. In my statement in the Security Council<sup>5</sup> I had an opportunity to point out the similarity between the aggression by Vietnamese regional expansionists launched against Kampuchea at Christmas 1978 and the aggression by Soviet international expansionists launched against Afghanistan at Christmas 1979. The events of recent days have demonstrated that the situation in that country is evolving in just the same way as has the situation in Kampuchea. Indeed, wars of aggression obey dynamics of their own and are beyond the control of the aggressors themselves.

43. First, in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese regional expansionists embarked upon their act of aggression with 120,000 men. At this time the Vietnamese forces of aggression in Kampuchea number more than 220,000. In the case of Afghanistan, despite world-wide condemnation, the Soviet Union is continuing to send in new invading troops, and, while there were 50,000 of them three weeks ago, there are now 85,000, and soon there will be more than 100,000. The cause is the categorical refusal of the valiant peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan to allow themselves to be subjugated by Vietnamese regional expansionists and Soviet international expansionists, and their determination fiercely and resolutely to fight to defend their independence, their territorial integrity and their right to decide their destiny for themselves.

44. Secondly, it is because of that just struggle that, despite all their reinforcements, the Soviet invading forces cannot and will not be able to control anything more than the towns and certain parts of strategic roads, just as the Vietnamese regional expansionists in Kampuchea cannot and will never be able to control anything other than towns and certain parts of strategic roads. They cannot and never will be able to control the country and the people. If they do not withdraw their armed forces from Afghanistan, the

Soviet international expansionists will be bogged down in their war of aggression, just as the Vietnamese regional expansionists in Kampuchea are at this time.

45. Thirdly, the press, radio and television are beginning to talk about the atrocities committed by the Soviet army in Afghanistan. The destruction in Afghanistan as a result of the use of bombs, napalm and missiles and the assassination and massacre of tens of thousands of Afghan patriots opposed to the Soviet invasion demonstrate the barbarism of the Soviet international hegemonists and remind the world of the monstrous crimes committed by the Vietnamese regional hegemonists against the people of Kampuchea. In one year, they have already killed more than 2 million Kampuchean through mass murder, starvation and the spreading of poisonous chemical products. Unparalleled misfortune and suffering have been relentlessly unleashed upon the people of Kampuchea for more than a year, and now they are being unleashed upon the Afghan people.

46. Fourthly, it is thus understandable that in order to escape death more and more Afghans are seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. One can expect that soon Pakistan will have to face a situation similar to that which Thailand must face at this time, with hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees fleeing massacres, famine and the poisonous chemical products used by the Vietnamese invaders. It will not be surprising if the United Nations has to organize a pledging conference to provide emergency humanitarian aid to the Afghan people.

47. Just as the flames of the Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea have reached the eastern part of Thailand and threaten to spread out across South-East Asia in its entirety, the flames of the Soviet war of aggression against Afghanistan may rapidly spread to neighbouring countries. All countries and people that love peace, justice and independence share the concerns of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its people. There can be no doubt that if no effective measures are taken in time to ensure that the Soviet Union will cease the aggression it has perpetrated against Afghanistan and withdraw all its troops from that country, the flames of the Soviet war of aggression will soon reach Pakistan.

48. However, despite incontrovertible facts and the inevitable evolution of events towards a greater threat to regional and world peace and security, the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists, together with their partisans, persist in their arrogance. Although their lies, calumnies and sophistry, cloaked in honeyed rhetoric, have been revealed, they continue to scorn the international community and to spread those lies and calumnies.

49. In addition, the Soviet expansionists go so far as to accuse and threaten neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan, just as the Vietnamese expansionists go on accusing and threatening the countries of South-East Asia, particularly Thailand. With their gangster-type logic no country in the world can feel safe.

50. The Soviet hegemonists and their cohorts, having over the past decade increased their nuclear and conventional weapons behind the curtain of détente, know only the

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year*, 2186th meeting.

language of brute force and act only by means of military forces. For them, the United Nations bodies are merely an apparatus for false propaganda and slander intended to disguise their hegemonist ambition. The Soviet and Vietnamese armed interventions in Afghanistan and Kampuchea respectively, 12 months apart, as well as debates on those interventions in the Security Council and the General Assembly fully bear that out.

51. But the future belongs to all the struggling peoples. It is obvious that after having made so many sacrifices to regain its independence and the right to live in the society of its choice, no people will agree to fall back into an even more implacable kind of servitude than the previous one. The common struggle of the people of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, supported by all countries and peoples that cherish peace, justice and independence in the world, will sweep away all the expansionists, whether they be international or regional. History has shown that no aggression has paid off. Sooner or later, it leads to the annihilation of those committing the aggression, however powerful they may be.

52. The acts of aggression by the international and regional hegemonists against Afghanistan and Kampuchea not only imperil the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national identity of those two countries, but constitute one of the most serious threats to all countries and peoples that cherish peace, justice and independence and that wish to live in honour and national dignity. Those acts imperil the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of non-alignment and the laws governing international relations. They threaten the very existence of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement and international peace and security. They recall only too vividly the invasions of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939 by Hitler's hordes.

53. As the Security Council has been prevented by the veto of the Soviet Union from playing its role, it is now up to our General Assembly to shoulder its responsibilities. My delegation is convinced that in the face of the serious common danger bearing the seeds of a third world conflagration, and involving a threat to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and indeed existence, all those countries that cherish peace, justice and independence and that voted on 14 November last by an overwhelming majority in favour of resolution 34/22, which condemns the aggression of the Vietnamese regional expansionists against Kampuchea, will not fail to condemn the armed Soviet intervention against Afghanistan and to demand the total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan so that the misfortune and suffering of the Afghan people can be relieved and so that they may exercise their right to decide for themselves the form of their Government and their own destiny without any foreign interference.

54. Mr. YANGO (Philippines): My country is gratified to see Ambassador Salim presiding over the deliberations of this emergency special session of the General Assembly.

55. When my country was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council, we looked forward to membership of the Council as an honour and a privilege

that carried with it a heavy responsibility to the community of nations and to the vast majority of the world's peoples. We are committed to discharge that responsibility faithfully under the Charter of the United Nations.

56. As the tumultuous decade of the 1970s ended and as the 1980s tumultuously began, my delegation took its appointed place in the Council with the realization that it is during such times of world crisis that decisions of the Council become a beacon of peace and security to the world community. And it is also during such times that the Security Council and the United Nations in general are subjected to close world scrutiny.

57. It was in that light and in response to the serious concern expressed by more than 50 Member nations about the situation in Afghanistan that my delegation sponsored in the Security Council—together with Bangladesh, Jamaica, Niger, Tunisia and Zambia—draft resolution S/13729, which we believed expressed the genuine concern of all peace-loving peoples, particularly those of the third world and especially the non-aligned group of nations. It would have paved the way for a peaceful settlement of the situation by the simple act of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghan territory.

58. In spite of the overwhelming sentiment and the depth and intensity of feelings expressed during the general debate on the Afghan situation, the draft resolution was not adopted, because of the lack of unanimity among the permanent members of the Council. The outcome came as no surprise, for this is not the first time that a Council resolution has been thus thwarted. Still it was a profound disappointment. Regrettably such an outcome will not be the last for as long as the Security Council remains essentially what it was when it was first established.

59. The unfortunate inability of the Council to discharge its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations, for the maintenance of international peace and order, at a crucial time when the very foundations of the international order are being shaken by disagreements and conflicts among nations, prompted my delegation to seek the only remaining alternative, in which we were joined by the delegation of Mexico as sponsors of the Council resolution 462 (1980) on calling this emergency special session of the General Assembly.

60. The gravity of the situation and the potential danger it represents, coming as it did immediately in the wake of yet another and still unresolved turbulent issue in the same region of the world, impelled my delegation to seek a more thorough discussion of the problem in a wider forum where members of the international community would have the chance to express their concern freely and unhampered by statutory constraints. I should like to state, however, at the risk of being repetitive, that it is my delegation's unchanging view that the matter should be peacefully resolved.

61. In these discussions, therefore, my delegation wishes to reiterate what we stated in the Security Council<sup>6</sup> as the crucial elements involved in the present situation: first, the

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 2185th meeting.

inalienable right of a people to determine its own form of government and its social, economic and political system, free from any external imposition by any form of coercion, including armed intervention; secondly, respect for the sacrosanct principles of international law, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, with special reference to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of any country, respect for sovereignty and political independence, the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of nations, and the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes between Member States; and, thirdly—and this must be considered of special relevance—the principles of non-alignment, which are the basis of the Non-Aligned Movement of which the country of Afghanistan is a founding member.

62. The elements to which I have referred are fully reflected in draft resolution A/ES-6/L.1 and Add.1 which is before us and which the Philippines is sponsoring together with 23 other delegations. This draft resolution calls for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. Also, it appeals to all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of that country.

63. Those were the particular elements which my delegation had in mind when it earlier alluded to the paving of the way for a peaceful settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. We commend this draft resolution for approval and adoption by the General Assembly.

64. Mr. MALINGA (Swaziland): I wish to express my delegation's appreciation of the fact that Ambassador Salim is presiding over this historic session.

65. The latest tragic events in Afghanistan, a land-locked, non-aligned country, have prompted a call for this emergency special session of the General Assembly to make it possible to bring into focus the Soviet Union's act of naked aggression against that country. My delegation is concerned over the consequences of such blatant violation of the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations relating to international peace and security. Our concern is even greater when we take into account the fact that such a grave act of armed intervention is being committed by a permanent member of the Security Council; a member whose status as a super-Power accords special recognition under the Charter for its right to exercise with the utmost responsibility the use of a veto in decisions on situations affecting international peace and security; a member which has taken so many initiatives, including a proposal prohibiting the use of force in international relations. Even outside the United Nations system, that country has taken initiatives which have sparked hope for peace.

66. When the two leaders of the most powerful nations in this world, namely the Soviet Union and the United States, met in Vienna to co-ordinate their efforts on the SALT II

treaty, we all thought that that was the dawning of a new era of peace to be founded upon the curbing of the arms race. It was equally gratifying to witness the introduction of an item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations" by one of those Powers during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, an action which led to the adoption of resolution 34/103. However, the events in Afghanistan cast doubts on the Soviet Union's sincerity about that proposal. Those events have also cast a dark cloud over the prospects for peace in this new decade. Is it going to be a decade characterized by the cold war and hot verbiage that may eventually plunge the world into the last world war?

67. Small States such as mine, more especially the developing ones, are totally vulnerable. They cannot help but seek to have friendly relations with powerful ones. Sometimes the relationship results in agreements of some kind. Notwithstanding such agreements, however, it is of the utmost importance that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of such States be respected and not jeopardized on any pretext. In most cases the relationship is often interpreted in the context of the strategic interests of the powerful countries, so much so that the latter make it their right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the small States, as is the case in Asia.

68. Afghanistan is a small developing country and a Member of the United Nations. Its people have their own traditions; they are part of the world Moslem community, and they treasure their nationhood and cultural identity as we all do. It was therefore with a sense of grief that my delegation learned of the interference by the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of that country. The events of 25, 26 and 27 December 1979, viewed against the background of yet another sad situation in Cambodia, brought shock and dismay to my country. The international community has a sacred duty to call for a halt to such interference, so that the people of Afghanistan may be left alone freely to exercise self-determination and independence and to live their lives in peace and security.

69. The arguments advanced so far in defence and support of the action taken by the Soviet Union vis-à-vis Afghanistan do not convince my delegation. In our view, there cannot be any justification for the violation of the principles of peace. Some of those principles are contained in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, set out in the annex to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV). One such principle states that "No State . . . has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State".

70. As has already been stated by several delegations, the armed intervention by the Soviet Union in the territory of Afghanistan is a bad precedent set by a founder Member of the United Nations, a major Power, a permanent member of the Security Council and a State which is quite aware of the fact that the inadequacy of the League of Nations finally plunged the world into the Second World War. That intervention should be viewed even more seriously because the Soviet Union had to veto a draft resolution recently

submitted in the Security Council that merely called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. If the Soviet Union's reason for moving its troops into Afghanistan was to give comprehensive assistance to help it to repel external aggression, why then did it veto a resolution that merely calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops?

71. That draft resolution, which was sponsored by the non-aligned members of the Security Council, received 13 affirmative votes, a clear indication that the overwhelming majority of the Council, which represents almost all parts of the world, is seriously concerned about the action of the Soviet Union.

72. What is happening in Afghanistan today could happen to any of the States represented here. Hence a collective call for restraint and respect for the Charter of our Organization has also to be addressed to whatever State is contemplating the demonstration of its superiority by imposing its will upon smaller and weaker nations. A lack of such restraint and respect would certainly cast doubt upon the viability of the United Nations itself.

73. Before concluding, may I make it clear that my delegation's concern about the matter before us is not directed at the Soviet Union alone. I must stress here that we believe firmly in the principle that the threat or use of force against the territorial or political independence of any State contravenes the Charter of the United Nations. Hence it is incumbent upon all Member States to uphold this principle and to refrain from acting in contravention of it.

74. In conclusion, my delegation would strongly appeal for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the territory of Afghanistan. Secondly, the people of Afghanistan should be left alone to choose their own leaders and to live their lives in a manner freely chosen by them. They alone are the masters of their destiny.

75. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The decade of the 1980s is indeed off to a bad start. It is regrettable that, just as this period is beginning that was to be a promising one for the task of disarmament and for the reform of international economic relations, grave tensions should have arisen which openly run counter to those aims.

76. Gradually, the process of decolonization, competition between developed countries, the demands of the peripheral nations and the need for peaceful coexistence in which all forms of social organization would be respected seemed to be leading us to a new era. Nuclear deterrence had apparently dispelled the danger of war. However, the struggle for economic and political predominance has transferred rivalries and aggression to the third world, to the detriment of the small and medium-sized countries.

77. The situation we are confronting, and its foreseeable sequel, are serious not for the so-called great Powers who risk only their prestige, alliances or hopes for supplies of natural resources, but rather for the developing countries, whose survival, freedom and desire for progress are threatened. It is frustrating that we must divert our efforts and our determination so as to avert a crisis which basically constitutes a by-product of hegemonistic policies.

78. The countries which have never had hopes of domination and which have suffered painful experiences and mutilation as a result of expansionist actions view with fear the threatening course which power relations are taking in the search for a new balance.

79. Mexico unequivocally rejects the presence in Afghanistan of foreign troops, which have served to overthrow a political régime and to replace it with another. That is clearly an intervention in the internal affairs of a country, a country bordering on the territory of a super-Power, a country which had for many centuries heroically maintained its independence against the siege of various forms of imperialism.

80. Mexico has always spoken out, sometimes alone, against flagrant violations perpetrated against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the self-determination of peoples. We have actively defended the principle of non-intervention, and that not only in the face of the various acts of aggression to which Latin American countries have been victim. We have also condemned the Nazi and fascist acts of aggression in Ethiopia and Austria and the frequent violations committed as a result of the cold war and we have always rejected invasions and interference in the internal affairs of States.

81. That is why my delegation, together with the delegation of the Philippines, sponsored the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by which this emergency special session of the General Assembly was to be convened. Our duty was to ensure that in this democratic forum would be heard the voices of those countries which have the most to lose in the quickening of international tensions, including the possible loss of freedom or even sovereignty.

82. It is precisely because Mexico has defended the principles of international legality in all circumstances that it also believes that the diligence with which we consider this case should be on a par with the diligence which we demonstrate in the future, when any State is the victim of or the aggressor which perpetrates similar violations.

83. Mexico will vote in favour of the draft resolution calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghan territory. The departure of foreign troops should be complemented by strict respect on the part of other States—and, in particular, those of the region—for the obligation to adopt whatever measure may be necessary to prevent armed bands from invading Afghan territory. Only thus, with the maximum circumspection and respect for law on the part of all States, will it be possible to avoid a conflict of the greatest proportions and to restore the exercise of self-determination in Afghanistan.

84. Recently the President of Mexico appealed from this rostrum<sup>7</sup> to all States to banish abuses and domination and urged them to settle their disputes through reason and not through violence. Today we urgently reiterate that appeal.

85. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): I should like at the outset to express to the President the satisfaction of the Ethiopian

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 6th meeting



delegation at seeing him presiding over the deliberations of this sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly and to assure him equally of my delegation's continued full co-operation in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities.

86. The last decade may very well be characterized as the decade of the demise and burial of the most notorious, despotic, oppressive, exploitative and feudalistic régimes and of the triumph of the struggling peoples in nearly all the continents and regions of the world. Needless to say, those struggles were not unopposed and the victories scored were not without supreme sacrifices. And now, as we enter a new decade, we continue to face the same incessant efforts of imperialism, in collusion with international reaction, to stifle popular revolutions.

87. Imperialist machinations were clearly demonstrated in their crudest form in their attempt to subvert the Ethiopian revolution by encouraging, financing, arming and co-ordinating the activities of regional expansionists and internal fifth columnists and the feudal potentates of the region, including the notorious former Shah of Iran. When socialist Ethiopia was a victim of the most blatant aggression, committed in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental principles of international law, imperialist and neo-colonialist forces encouraged, rather than condemned, that aggression. Worse still, when socialist Ethiopia was forced to defend its territorial integrity, its national unity and its revolution, those same forces that were unconcerned about the aggression committed against Ethiopia were quick and ready to express publicly what they called "grave concern" about a hypothetical and imaginary invasion of the aggressor State by Ethiopia—its victim.

88. It is essentially with that background in mind that socialist Ethiopia looks at the recent developments in South-West Asia, especially in Afghanistan. The Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has indicated, both in the debates in the Security Council and in those in this emergency special session of the General Assembly, that the measures taken by his Government have actually contributed towards the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of his country. In the light of the foregoing, the present consideration by the General Assembly of the so-called situation in Afghanistan—which is essentially a matter pertaining to the sovereign right of the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to safeguard their sovereignty and independence—far from contributing to the speedy restoration of peace and stability, can be seen only as an attempt by the forces of imperialism and reaction to use the United Nations as yet another weapon in their arsenal.

89. The United Nations, which is regarded with great hope as the protector of the rights of the small and the weak, stands to be discredited if it were to take issue with the victim of the aggression and destabilization rather than with the aggressors and perpetrators of interference, subversion, instability and insecurity. If the United Nations needs to discuss Afghanistan at all, it would be more appropriate to discuss the subversive and provocative acts directed against that country from outside since April 1978 to destabilize

its legitimate Government and to sow discord and instability in the region. Socialist Ethiopia is categorical in its opposition to the attempts by certain outside Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by recruiting, financing, organizing, training, arming and encouraging subversive elements to create instability and disturb peace and tranquillity inside Afghanistan. The immediate and unconditional cessation of those activities would mean the removal of the conditions that in the first place compelled successive Governments in Afghanistan to seek temporary military assistance from a fraternal neighbouring country.

90. The revival of the cold war, the extension of the dangerous nuclear-arms race into the Indian Ocean, the expansion of existing military bases such as Diego Garcia, the frantic attempts to acquire new bases in the same area and the prolongation of racism and colonialism in southern Africa are the factors that constitute the real threat to the peace and stability, and a menace to the security, of the States of the region.

91. Far from focusing attention on these vital issues, the present discussion by the General Assembly of the so-called situation in Afghanistan and the draft resolution submitted on the subject can serve only to exacerbate the already tense situation in the region and to divert world public opinion from the machinations of imperialism or, at the very least, to provide justification for their increasingly provocative actions. Socialist Ethiopia cannot but oppose such moves, which are clearly detrimental to the peace and stability of the region and of the world as a whole.

92. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): It is entirely typical that the actual initiators of the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should have relied on the illegal "Uniting for peace" resolution and that a direct reference to that resolution was—apparently for some reason of shyness—left out of the original proposal submitted to the Security Council. General Assembly resolution 377 A (V), which was adopted in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations at the height of the cold war, when the Western Powers were manipulating our Organization as they deemed fit, retains echoes of the political atmosphere of the period when the blue flag of the United Nations was used as a cover for the war in Korea.

93. Having failed in Afghanistan and in the Security Council, the foes of the Afghan revolution have this time attempted to convene a special emergency session of the General Assembly, which, on the pretext of their apprehensions about the fate of the Afghan people, they are attempting to make into a screen for their reactionary ambitions. Having recourse to the rhetoric of the cold war, the initiators of the convening of this session are once again attempting to impose their own unworthy practices upon us—upon generations which have lived through the period of the cold war and have taken an active part in overcoming it. However, the attempts to drag us back to the cold war cannot possibly be in the interest of mutually advantageous friendly relations and co-operation between countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

94. Having recourse to the rhetoric of the cold war, those who actually initiated this session are attempting, in spite

of the vigorous protests of the legitimate representatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to make wrongful use of the United Nations for unfounded, inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in order to increase assistance to elements which are committing acts of aggression against that country's lawful authorities, assistance aimed at undermining the Afghan revolution, which has become a constituent element of the struggle of peoples against colonial, feudal and imperialist oppression.

95. Having recourse to the rhetoric of the cold war, the true initiators of the convening of this session are attempting to exploit temporary confusion and misinformation and use it against the Afghan revolution, and to involve individual representatives of non-aligned countries in the network of the anti-Soviet campaign under the slogan of their alleged defence of the interests of small countries. But the long experience that the developing countries have had with imperialism and all its manifestations—colonialism, racism and *apartheid*—is much more convincing than the rhetoric of the cold war. Furthermore, at this very session there is, in spite of the wave of confusion and misunderstanding, a feeling that in the final analysis the representatives of developing countries will, in their over-all appraisal of the situation, come to be guided precisely by that very experience.

96. The efforts aimed at reviving the cold war can of course be used to attack and even put a brake on progressive historical development. But it is impossible to halt it. The ambitions of the Governments of the United States and China to make use of the United Nations to undermine the efforts of developing countries to adopt a course of social and economic reform and independent progressive development, and to cover up their own further intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the increasing tension in the Middle East and Persian Gulf regions and beyond, should be a matter of serious alarm to those who have a genuine interest in preserving international peace and security.

97. The events which have occurred in Afghanistan over the past few weeks are entirely justified, correct and to the benefit of the people of that country. At a difficult, indeed critical time when the most reactionary forces of the old régimes combined in a conspiracy with outside forces, and with their help against the people's democratic power, and exploited the mistakes made by the revolution, a new Government has appeared on the Afghan political scene which has set itself the task of energetically fulfilling the difficult tasks ahead of it. In the light of the continuing and growing intervention of foreign foes of Afghanistan, which are trying to restore the military strategic positions they have lost in Iran, and acting in the interest of defending the gains of the April 1978 Afghan revolution, the Afghan Government exercised its sovereign right in urgently appealing to the Soviet Union for political, moral, economic and military assistance. The provision of that assistance by the Soviet Union constituted a defensive wall against attempts to undermine the progressive developments in Afghanistan and to drown the freedom of the people in a counter-revolutionary coup and a blood-bath.

98. Today, when the plans for the violent overthrow of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghan-

istan and for the conversion of the territory of Afghanistan into a military spring-board on the southern borders of the Soviet Union have been thwarted, the enemies of progress are attempting to fan the flames of an anti-Afghan and anti-socialist campaign.

99. By a series of unilateral measures—staged, incidentally, in the light of internal political electoral campaigns—they have attempted to create the impression that, as they allege, they have been obliged to resist a threat to their own interests and security. They are trying to justify and explain—although at a late date—their plan to force through new long-term armaments programmes and to hinder the entry into force of the Soviet-American SALT II treaty; the dangerous steps which have been taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with regard to the stationing in Western European countries of new medium-range American nuclear missiles; the formation of the so-called rapid deployment force; their aggressive policy in the Middle East; and, in fact, a whole wave of activities aimed against the stabilization of the process of international détente.

100. As a matter of fact, they are attempting to carry out even more blackmail by alleging that it is precisely Afghanistan and the Soviet Union that, in taking action that is exclusively the bilateral affair of the Governments of those two countries, have created a threat to the further development of international détente. From this standpoint, the abuse and exploitation of the concept of détente has simply resulted in a further exposure of the true attitude of the enemies of the process of international détente.

101. On the other hand, my delegation welcomes the realistic approach expressed in the statements of all delegations that have said that the policy of peace, political détente and disarmament should be preserved because it is to the advantage of all countries, without exception.

102. On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I can state that, in spite of the perceptibly worsened international situation, we are determined to continue a policy of détente, to make it ever more dynamic and to defend its essence, so that it can remain the prevailing trend in international life. However, we shall oppose all attempts—and we have witnessed such attempts here at this session—to take advantage of the hopes which mankind has placed in the policy of international détente in order to camouflage the implementation of plans that favour the narrow, selfish and brutal interests of certain circles in the west which are harmful to the essence of the policy of international détente.

103. Mr. FILALI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Since its establishment, our Organization has constantly worked to achieve the lofty aims assigned to it by the Member States. Among those aims are the preservation of international peace and security and the establishment of a new world governed by the rules of law rather than by the rules of force. The sovereign equality of States is the keystone of this new structure.

104. The Assembly in which we meet today has played a major role in the establishment of this new world by

reaffirming, developing and deepening the dimensions of the fundamental principles upon which our Organization rests. The Assembly has adopted numerous declarations, in particular: the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, adopted in 1965; the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1970; the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, also adopted in 1970; the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente, adopted in 1977; and finally, the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted in 1978.

105. The participation of the large as well as the small States was necessary in that international endeavour. The contribution of the Soviet Union was important, indeed decisive. The fact that it was that great country which undertook the initiatives during the last decade that led to the adoption of most of the declarations I have mentioned won for it the respect of the international community. It was reassuring indeed to hear a great nuclear Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, state that intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of States was to be prohibited, urge that force not be used and reaffirm the inviolability of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States. The world began to believe that the time had passed when the large States dominated the small, when the powerful did not hesitate to use the weak whenever the former felt it was necessary to check a pawn of the adversary on the chess-board of the cold war.

106. Countries like mine which wished to remain outside the rivalry of military blocs and firmly believed in the aims and principles of a true, generous and positive non-alignment, did not hesitate to welcome warmly any proposals and initiatives from whatever quarter, particularly when they concerned decolonization, disarmament and détente.

107. We must sincerely regret that the methods of the cold war have re-emerged today. We can only note with bitterness that the desire to intervene in the internal affairs of States, to dominate them and to draw them into spheres of influence has not been dispelled once and for all. How can one explain the recent armed intervention in Afghanistan? How can one justify the presence of tens of thousands of foreign soldiers and a considerable quantity of foreign military equipment on the soil of a country whose only crime is to be located in a region which some consider strategic?

108. We have been told that it was at the request of the Afghan Government, under the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness and Co-operation concluded on 5 December 1978 between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union sent its troops in order to enable Afghanistan to confront aggression. Events took place as though Afghanistan were not a Member of our Organization. However, our Charter provides that any Member State that considers itself to be the victim of an act of aggression or the threat of aggression can plead its case before the

Organization and present its complaint to the Security Council. It has every opportunity to submit proof of the existence of the danger about which it is complaining and to request our Organization to put an end to that danger, in observance of its fundamental principles.

109. To our knowledge, during the reign of the late Presidents Taraki and Amin, Afghanistan never made a complaint against any country. Moreover, we have not been convinced, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, of the existence of external aggression, whether covert or overt, perpetrated against Afghanistan, just as we have no tangible proof that President Amin had requested the military aid in question. That is why we believe that a rapid and savage implementation of Article 51 of the Charter is unjustified and that the invocation of the Soviet-Afghan agreement is inoperative, in view of the fact that the Afghan régimes had never requested it.

110. We are therefore obliged to note that the foreign military presence in Afghanistan can be explained only by the desire to prevent the sovereign Afghan people from choosing its own form of government and its own economic, political and social system. The foreign military presence in Afghanistan is designed only to transform the physiognomy and political character of that country and to distort the Islamic identity of its people. In the final analysis, the foreign military presence in Afghanistan is a classic violation of a fundamental principle of our Organization, namely respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States.

111. Morocco, an Islamic country with many firm bonds with Afghanistan, cannot but express its deep concern over the attempts to impose upon the Moslem Afghan people an identity completely alien to it.

112. Nor can Morocco remain indifferent to the trials which that great people is suffering—a people that has made an important contribution to Moslem civilization, based upon the principles of justice, tolerance and non-discrimination. Morocco solemnly declares its Islamic solidarity with the fraternal people of Afghanistan. Indeed, is not the consolidation of this Islamic solidarity the foremost aim of the Islamic Conference?

113. My country, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, cannot remain silent over the attempts to change the non-aligned status of one of that Movement's founders, nor can it remain indifferent to the fact that a third-world country which is attempting to overcome its problems of underdevelopment is experiencing events which will merely delay its development even further.

114. Morocco is convinced that the Afghan people, whose resistance to all past colonialist attempts and whose pride in its independence are well known, will be able to defend its dignity and identity.

115. All these considerations lead us to deplore the recent foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan. This position is consistent with the unswerving political policy of my country to denounce all acts of intervention, regardless of the perpetrator.

116. Above and beyond these considerations based upon solidarity with a Moslem non-aligned third-world country, Morocco feels bound also to assume this position of principle out of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States Members of our Organization.

117. That is why, from this rostrum, we wish to make a sincere appeal to the Soviet Union, that great country with which Morocco entertains friendly and fruitful relations, immediately to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

118. We remain convinced that the Soviet Union, which particularly over the past decade, has been one of the defenders of the principles of peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament, will remain faithful to that generous policy and will overcome the present difficulties.

119. It is our sincere hope to see Afghanistan free from all foreign interference so that its people may be able to live in peace and security.

120. Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka): I participate in this debate not with a sense of confrontation or outrage, but rather with genuine feelings of anxiety and concern as a representative of a South Asian non-aligned country.

121. Sri Lanka, which chairs the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean established to implement General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), is particularly concerned that the developments in that region are causing a series of events which, if not checked, may be a set-back to the implementation of that resolution. We therefore particularly wish to urge all countries to exercise the maximum restraint in the situation and to ensure that no steps are taken to escalate tension in the region. Afghanistan is a member of the Group of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, and the concern that Sri Lanka feels, in common with all countries in this Group, is deep and must be respected.

122. As Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, I cannot but express considerable concern about the repercussions in the Indian Ocean region that seem to be flowing from the recent developments that have led to this emergency special session.

123. This debate has provided a microcosm of the international atmosphere that has been unfortunately building up in the wake of recent developments. It would be quite unrealistic for us to deny the fact that a sense of confrontation has surfaced. Old ghosts of the cold war, polemical language and other manifestations which the non-aligned countries have steadfastly opposed are unfortunately making their appearance again. We deeply regret this trend. We believe that these developments will seriously set back a series of positive developments that had been evolving over a period of time.

124. The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Summit Conference, held in September 1979, reiterated that the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States was one of the basic principles of non-alignment. The Summit declaration insisted that the violation of this

principle was totally unacceptable, unjustifiable under any circumstances and incompatible with the obligations assumed by United Nations Members under the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>8</sup>

125. We in the Non-Aligned Movement have always believed that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be the corner-stone of international relations. Those principles of peaceful coexistence, which have been staunchly upheld by the non-aligned countries since the First Summit Conference and by the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia since the days of Bandung, constitute the basis for the strengthening of international peace and security and the relaxation of tensions. Peaceful coexistence must assume positive, and not merely negative aspects. The Sri Lanka delegation wishes to call upon all Member nations of the United Nations to adhere strictly to and implement the principles of peaceful coexistence in their mutual relations, in particular, and in their international activity, in general. We feel that this would be the best course for achieving an essential easing of tension and the goals of peace.

*Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

126. Consistent with our commitment to the principles of non-alignment, we support the sovereign right of the people of Afghanistan to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference or coercion. Any outside interference from any quarter cannot be condoned, and it was in affirmation of that basic principle that the Government and people of Sri Lanka, in a statement issued in Colombo on 3 January 1980, called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its military contingents from the territory of Afghanistan. The representative of the Soviet Union has gone on record in the United Nations with a statement that Soviet troops will not stay in Afghanistan long. We look forward to the early fulfilment of that assurance.

127. Sri Lanka, which is a small, strictly non-aligned State, is strongly opposed to interference by any country in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, a member of the Non-Aligned Movement since its inception. We appeal to all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of non-aligned Afghanistan and to refrain from any interference in its internal affairs.

128. May I take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of the delegation of Sri Lanka to our President for the untiring and invaluable work he has rendered to the thirty-fourth session and is rendering to this emergency special session.

129. Mr. SUWONDO (Indonesia): The people of my country has watched with deep concern the grave situation in Afghanistan, a fellow non-aligned and Islamic nation, arising from armed intervention by an external force which has caused a serious threat to peace and stability not only in the region of South Asia but also throughout the world.

130. The recent events in Afghanistan have underlined the dangerous nature of the situation. Expressing my country's

<sup>8</sup> See A/34/542, para. 245.

concern over these developments, the President of Indonesia, speaking before the Parliament on 7 January, stated, among other things:

“The external intervention in Afghanistan has definitely shaken the foundations of world peace and infringed upon the principle of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect, and for this reason it will be opposed by all countries that cherish peace, independence and justice.”

131. It is for my delegation a matter of profound regret that the Security Council, which met early last week, failed to resolve the issue because of the lack of unanimity among its permanent members, thereby preventing it from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. We therefore supported the initiative to call this emergency special session of the General Assembly in order to consider the question on which the Security Council has failed to act.

132. It is important that all States strictly adhere to the principles of international law as enshrined in the Charter and embodied in the Bandung Declaration<sup>9</sup> which, *inter alia*, calls upon all States to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to abstain from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Such respect is basic to the elimination of armed conflicts and the preservation of peace.

133. We are concerned about the need to ensure the freedom of countries to conduct their own affairs without outside interference. Indonesia has therefore consistently opposed any form of intervention in the internal affairs of a State and any action that is not in conformity with respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States. In this regard the great Powers have a special responsibility to uphold and preserve these long-cherished principles. External intervention in Afghanistan can therefore in no way be justified. It is the fervent hope of my Government and my delegation that peace and stability will soon be restored in Afghanistan and that a widening conflagration can be prevented.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 533rd meeting, para. 146.

134. My delegation strongly urges that the foreign intervention in that country be immediately halted and followed by the prompt and unconditional withdrawal of the foreign forces. Only thus will the people of Afghanistan be enabled freely and peacefully to solve their internal difficulties.

135. We join other delegations in urging all States to exercise restraint and to refrain from any acts that might exacerbate the already critical situation in Afghanistan. We sincerely hope that the results of this Assembly's deliberations will have a salutary effect on the situation and will contribute to the restoration of peace and stability in the region in accordance with the principles referred to earlier by my delegation, to which we all subscribe.

*Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations (concluded)\* (A/ES-6/2 and Add.1)*

136. The PRESIDENT: Members will recall that at the 1st plenary meeting of this emergency special session, the General Assembly decided that certain of the Member States in arrears in the payment of their contributions would be authorized to vote until Friday, 11 January. That date has now passed. Meanwhile, payment has been received from Paraguay, as indicated in document A/ES-6/2/Add.1.

137. In this connexion I wish to refer to the letter from the representative of Nicaragua annexed to document A/ES-6/2, in which he requests that his country's right to vote be maintained in light of the critical economic situation in Nicaragua.

138. In the light of the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter, whereby the General Assembly may permit a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member, may I take it that the General Assembly agrees to the request of Nicaragua and authorizes that country to participate in the vote.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

\* Resumed from the 1st meeting.